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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate how social and cultural identities, such as race, gender, and class, intersected and interacted to inform the self-identities of black students on a predominantly white campus and to begin to theorize the process of identity integration and its attendant issues. Participants were five students at a small, selective, rural college. Each student participated in four semistructured interviews. Findings suggest that there is a need to include the integrating of multiple identity facets as a component of psychosocial development. For these students, there were issues of weaving the self into and through context, developing a context-transcendent identity, in which core beliefs and perspectives are central, rather than peripheral. Findings also support the central and pivotal role of intimate relationships and suggest that it may be time to extend this understanding to men's development as well as to women's. The interviews show that the development of student groups and clubs that intersect different identity facets may encourage and support students as they seek ways to bring the multiple facets of themselves to bear on the issues of their lives. Findings also show that the development of an integrated social and cultural identity, which blends the influences of race, gender, class, and other central facets, does not occur in a vacuum, but is influenced by the cognitive and other psychosocial development of the student as either a support or a hindrance. (Contains 2 tables and 24 references.) (SLD)

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Issues Affecting the Integration of Multiple Social and Cultural Identities Among Black Students at a Predominantly White Institution

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Introduction

Disciplines across the academy are coming to see the necessity and the value of using multiple and intersecting frameworks to understand issues and people in this nation. As Bill Tierney (1993) has written, the recognition that human beings have multiple identities is a critical postmodernist project. Higher education student development theory has joined this movement with the work of Amy Reynolds and Raechele Pope (1991), Maria Root (1990), Susan R. Jones (1997), and Susan R. Jones and Marylu McEwen (2000). However, what remains rarely addressed, with the exception of Jones and McEwen (2000), is an intentional analysis of the multidimensionality of identity constructs in all human beings, across social and cultural identities. Theory development would be enhanced by an understanding of the relationships betwixt and between the differing social and cultural facets of self, allowing those facets to speak with, across, and to each other.

Identity integration as discussed in this paper is different from issues of integrity and identity management that has been discussed in the psychosocial development literature (see Chickering & Reisser, 1993). Identity integration goes beyond exhibiting consistent behavior across differing social contexts. Identity integration specifically looks at the intersections between race, gender, class, sexuality, and age, for instance, and theorizes that mature identity development in an individual will seek to continually use those identities in concert, not oppositionally or hierarchically. Implicit to identity integration is the suggestion that different social and cultural identities do not exist essentially or innocently, but rather they carry socially constructed norms, values, and perspectives that may differ and even clash. Any one identity facet within an individual can be used to oppose or dominate any of the others that an individual also carries.

As previously stated, every individual despite their particular cultural and social identities, occupies multiple identity positions. However, the need to integrate those multiple identities largely arises when there is a conscious awareness of the constructions of those identities and a desire to integrate those identities into one's psychosocial make-up. Moreover, societal opposition or invalidation of one or more of an individual's social and cultural identities makes identity integration a more pressing challenge.

The interaction of the environment with individual development has been noted in the literature (Strange, 1996). Moreover, the experience of the predominately White college campus impacts the development of students of color (Hurtado, 1992; Hurtado, et al, 1998). These factors make identity integration particularly, though not exclusively, relevant to Black students and other students of color on predominately White college campuses.

Literature Review

Goodman (1990) and Brown-Collins and Sussewell (1986) urge researchers to look at the various ways that race and gender interact. Jones (1997) conducted a study, which specifically examined the multiple dimensions of identity development in women college students. She found that the multicultural group of women she interviewed dealt with many issues previously unaddressed in the literature on women's development. Among those issues were (1) the multiple ways in which race mattered; (2) the multiple layers of identity; and (3) the braiding of gender identity with other dimensions of self. Moreover, the more dimensions of identity that the women perceived, the more complex became their negotiations between inside (personal) and outside (societal) worlds. The ability to self-define one's identity was critical as these women sought ways to live peacefully with multiple dimensions of identity.

Jones and McEwen (2000) extended the findings discussed by Jones (1997) and developed a conceptual model of the multiple dimensions of identity. The model allows for the "portrayal of intersections or interactions among identity development dimensions or between multiple identities not seen in other models" (p. 406). Theoretically, the model attends to the myriad ways that personal self-definitions and differing contexts dynamically interact with the development of socially constructed identities. Significantly, the model demonstrated that it was possible to live "comfortably with multiple identities" (p. 408). The authors found that the respondents spoke of having a core identity, defined as "valued personal attributes and characteristics," that was more authentic and complex than their socially constructed, or "outside" identities (pp. 408-409). This finding could be interpreted as indicating that the students felt that the meaning of socially constructed identities, such as race, gender, or class, were often externally defined in inauthentic ways and that the locus of control remained external to the individual.

However, the possible distinction between communal meanings and societal meanings, nor the ways in which personal or core identities may also rely on external definitions was addressed.

Reynolds and Pope (1991) explored identity development for individuals possessing what they term as "multiple oppressed identities," such as a female person of color who is also lesbian. Basing their analysis in the Afrocentric world view as articulated by Myers (1988), they asserted that to be oppressed was to be socialized into a world view that was suboptimal and led to a fragmented sense of self, which made it difficult for people to embrace all of who they were (Reynolds & Pope, 1991). Reynolds and Pope proposed the Multidimensional Identity Model, which was based on Root's (1990) work on biracial identity development, to describe the process of facing "internal conflict over a core sense of definition of self" (p. 178). This non-hierarchical, non-evaluative model has four patterns of identity resolution: (1) identification with only one aspect of self that is assigned by society; (2) identification with only one aspect of self that is consciously chosen by the individual; (3) identification with multiple aspects of the self in a segmented fashion; and (4) identification with combined aspects of self (p. 179). Although the model was primarily concerned with patterns of negotiation of oppressed identities and not social and cultural identities in general (Jones and McEwen, 2000), the concept employed in this study, identity integration or wholeness, is described by the last pattern of multiple identity resolution, termed identity intersection by Reynolds and Pope.

This small subset in the literature most clearly argues for and demonstrates the utility of a framework that is built upon the assumption that identity integration and wholeness represent valuable ideals, which are desired by African American students themselves. However, there is much uncharted territory that has not been covered yet in the literature within higher education and student affairs or educational anthropology. Therefore, this study seeks to elicit the pertinent issues that affect the integration of multiple social and cultural identities as identified by students themselves. Moreover, this study seeks to gain an understanding of student perceptions, understandings, and discourse about multiple identities and identity integration.

Research Methodology

The purpose of this study was to investigate how social and cultural identities, such as race, gender, and class intersected and interacted to inform the self-identities of Black students on a predominantly White campus and to begin to theorize the process of identity integration and its attendant issues. The following research questions guided this study: (1) In what ways did these Black college students at this PWI perceive themselves as having multiple social and cultural identities (Fowler, 1981; Wolcott, 1994)? (2) How did these Black college students at this PWI choose which social and cultural identities to embrace and which others to ignore or abandon (Eisenhart, 1995; Fowler, 1981)? (3) How did the intersections of race, gender, class background, and class attainment inform the lived realities and self-knowledges of these Black college students at this PWI (Fowler, 1981; Goodman, 1990; Jones, 1997)? (4) What factors mediated the articulation of an integrated social and cultural identity in terms of race, class, and gender at this PWI for these Black students (Jones & McEwen, 2000)? (5) In what ways did spirituality impact the perception of multiple social and cultural identities and the development of an integrated and whole sense of self for these Black students (Baker-Fletcher, 1998; Fowler, 1981; Love & Talbot, 1999)?

Such questions are most appropriately answered through the rigors of naturalistic inquiry, therefore a qualitative research design was used (Lincoln & Guba, 1988). Qualitative inquiry's focus on eliciting stories (Hollway & Jefferson, 1997) and the creation of a "vital text" (Denzin, 1994), through which the voices and experiences of the participants are legitimated promotes the possibility of a more authentic rendering of lived experience. The methodology employed in this study is a hybrid of phenomenology's emphasis on the analytical power of experience and portraiture's focus on deeply understanding the particular. It reflected a concern with the multiple venues through which psychosocial and psychocultural development could be expressed. The multiple ways in which portraiture described the operation of the researcher's voice were brought to bear on the analysis. Such a methodology was better equipped to frame an investigation of multifaceted identity integration in Black college students on a predominantly White campus.

The students selected for this study were all students at Rosse College (a pseudonym), a small, selective, rural college in the Midwestern United States, classified as a baccalaureate – liberal arts college (*Chronicle Almanac*, 2000). The students were selected using two qualitative sampling techniques, intensity sampling and maximum variation sampling and produced a sample of five students. I believed that narrowing my focus to students at one type of institution would afford me the opportunity for greater in-depth study and understanding of the phenomenon investigated, i.e. identity integration and wholeness. This type of institution was selected because it closely mirrors my own undergraduate institution in which I first recognized this phenomenon. The students also selected pseudonyms to identify themselves. Poke was the only child of two highly educated, middle-class parents, who lived in a predominantly White suburban neighborhood and was vice president of Rosse's local black fraternity. Sage was the eldest daughter of working class parents, who grew up in a predominantly Black urban area and president of the campus black student organization. Kashmir was a biracial woman, whose parents divorced when she was relatively young, and lived with her mother in a predominantly White suburban community and was vice president of the campus black sorority. K.B. was the middle son of working class parents and grew up in a predominantly Black urban neighborhood and managed the campus multicultural center. Ophelia was the oldest child of a divorced mother, who moved a lot in her childhood and currently resided in a predominantly Black suburban neighborhood. At the time of the study, all the participants were in their junior year, except for Ophelia, who was a sophomore.

Four semi-structured, multi-staged, individual interviews were used to collect data from the participants. I spoke with each participant on 4 separate occasions, totaling over 3.5 hours of interviews with each student, which were audiotaped and later transcribed. A demographic survey was also administered to report descriptive data about the group. The staged interview method of collecting data had several advantages. First, it allowed the participants time to more thoroughly relate to me how they felt their experiences pertained to their self-definitions and self-knowledge as a multifaceted individual. Second, it gave me time as a researcher to digest their stories and construct the next interview session in ways that built upon the students' capacities of self-analysis and introspection. Third, talking with each

student across a span of 3 months allowed me to see them as dynamic individuals, growing and developing around and within my research. These time-extended dialogues helped to more fully develop my analysis and analytic procedures.

Findings

Multiple levels of analysis were applied to the data. The reasoning of this lay in my implicit belief that multiple analytical modes would add complexity to my understanding of the students' stories. As Norman Denzin (2000) reminds his readers through the words of Wahneema Lubiano, marginalized peoples need to be wary of the seduction of realistic representation and accepting all that such an interpretation implies about not only our ability to know, but also about our abilities as researchers to represent another's life, thoughts, and processes as complete or objective. Therefore, the data analysis embodied a utopian project (Denzin, 2000), which hoped to represent the possibilities of integrating disparate and fragmentary methods of analysis and research narratives into a whole picture, a kaleidoscope that can be appreciated best through the multiple prisms of its architecture. These multiple interpretive frameworks shaped how I saw the data and what data I saw, therefore my participants could not be fully comprehended by any one particular analytical framework (Honan, et al., 2000).

The first level of analysis entailed developing a portrait of each participant through the poetic representation of their transcribed interviews. These impressionistic tales treat and represent the interview as it is – the subjective construction of both interviewer and interviewee. Further it centers the subjects of the interview through the use of their words instead of my own (Richardson, 1992). These poems, with the exception of Poke's, were co-constructed with each student and created a sensual story, a dramatic epic. Table 1 presents excerpts of the first stanza of each of the four episodes in the poems, which represent the beginning of each of the four interview sessions. Reading down the table, it is evident how different and sensual each student's story is. Reading across the table, the dynamic, evolving, and shifting nature of these students' lives becomes apparent.

As seen in Table 1, through each of the five poems, the similarities and differences among the students lived in a way that they did not through the other layers of analysis. These were dynamic,

emotive, sensual individuals, who collectively possessed a capacity to reason and interpret their own experiences as well as those of others. Finally, the process of crafting, editing, and incorporating the students' comments continually reminded me of the power of their own words to declare, translate, and explicate their own lives (Hollway & Jefferson, 1997).

The second layer of analysis imposed three theoretical frameworks upon the data as a means of entering into discussion of how each student constructed and made meaning of identity fragmentation and integration in their own lives through the lenses of faith-identity typology (Fowler, 1981; Parks, 2000), identity intersectionality (Reynolds & Pope, 1991); and optimal theory applied to identity development (Myers, et al., 1991). These were theoretical tales in that they assumed an epistemological stance in which these students' lived experiences with wholeness and fragmentation were fully knowable through the application of appropriate method and theory (Lather, 1991; Van Mannen, 1981).

Faith-identity typology discusses the different ways in which individuals may negotiate the multiple commitments and identities of their lives. During the interviews, I asked each student in what organizations were they members as well as asking them how they would describe their identities. There was considerable overlap between these two, which is not surprising. Individuals commit themselves to organizations and groups with whom they can identify. For instance, Sage, who was very invested in her identities as Black, African, and woman, was primarily involved in the campus black student organization, the international student group, and the local sorority for black women. Therefore, how they negotiated their multiple organizational commitments provided some insight into how they negotiated their multiple identities as well. When the faith-identity typology was applied to this group of students, it revealed that all of them to varying degrees lacked a center of value and meaning that could transcend and unify the disparate pulls of their identities, although Sage was the furthest along. Table 2 represents the data with the theoretical frame to illustrate how the different centers of value and meaning either help or hinder the student's ability to integrate the differing social and identity contexts in their lives.

The Multidimensional Identity Model, discussed in the literature review, allowed me to more fully engage the play of external definitions and expectations with the possibility and articulation of identity integration in these students. A strict application of the model actually masks the differences that inhabit these students. The fourth resolution option, identity intersection, does not trouble or challenge why individuals may claim representation by more than one identity and therefore, masks the differences between them. For instance, according to the model when strictly applied, four of the five students would be placed in this fourth category. However, as we have seen through the faith-identity typology lens, there are deep differences between how these students relate to the multiple identities they possess. However, the value in the model lies in the fact that the four identity resolutions described in the model discuss the interplay of individuals with the expectations of others. The role of external definitions was masked by the faith-identity typology but in the students' interviews were an apparently integral part of how they formed their knowledge and acceptance of the many parts of their identities. This theoretical lens revealed an inverse relationship between these factors and the importance of the external voices of friends and romantic partners in the identity negotiation of these students.

All the students first came to value the significance of their multiple identities through external sources. As Poke reflected, "I'd say it took the outside for me to notice it." Sage also spoke of an external prompter when she reflected on her early days in private school, "The negative experience came in the fact that it was very frustrating to see myself as being classified as one of the rest and not being able to identify with the people around me." Ophelia's comments were poignant in their simplicity, "I think of it this way, while I've been here [at Rosse] it seems like, umm, well, you get real special when you're a minority here and I never knew being black was so cool you know." Although they all identified an external origin for their later identity commitment, the continued importance and relevance of this external origin, whether that be a romantic partner, friends, or family, varied for each student from low to medium to high.

The variation among the students was not mostly within their degree of commitment to a multiple sociocultural identity. Kashmir was the only student who had not made a firm commitment to her

intersected identity. Rather, the variation was in the degree of importance of external definition and expectations to their identity commitments. Kashmir and K.B. were found to be the most reliant on these external definitions because of their articulations of their dependence on other's perceptions of themselves or ways of making meaning of experience and making relational commitments. Ophelia does not rely on external validation as highly as Kashmir and K.B. do, but because she sometimes "los[t] touch over that ownership [of her identity]," she was found to still have a relatively high degree of dependence on external sources of validation. Sage was found to be more in the middle. Sage battled continually with whether she should care about the closed-mindedness of her friends in the Christian community at Rosse and it prevented her from taking hold of the freedom to be herself regardless of what they thought. Poke was found to depend on external validations the least. Although, as he said, it "took the outside" for him to notice his identities as black and male, once he did so, "it was all [him]." Poke seemed to easily sweep away other's expectations and definitions of him. He deferred instead to an internal barometer and kept around him those who supported and accepted the identity he had crafted for himself. This reading of the data greatly differs from the first interpretation, in terms of both content and complexity. This representation of the students, though useful, is not adequately complex given the data to stand on its own.

Optimal theory, a lifespan development theory related to the process of integrating one's sense of self, revealed that none of the students had yet arrived at a place of congruence among the segmented facets of their identities. However, optimal theory did identify that three of the students had attached a sense of worth to those aspects of themselves, which have been identified as central or significant to their identities, and recognized these facets as part of a larger whole. In this interpretive framework, "the process of integrating and expanding" one's sense of self is prominently featured (Myers et al., 1991). The optimal development framework maintains that the "concurrent consideration of multiple oppressions instead of singly considering oppression based on race, ethnicity, sex, sexual preference, or age" is a more accurate representation of a person's life (Myers et al., 1991, p. 55). Like Fowler (1981) and Parks (2000), the optimal conceptual system marries spiritual and material realities and places primary

importance on the spiritual rather than the material (Myers et al.). In common with Reynolds and Pope (1991), the framework suggests that oppression is an "internal construct" that operates "whenever [people] allow their power to be externalized" (Myers et al., 1991, p. 56). Yet, the optimal theory applied to identity development goes beyond both these views to see identity development as the lifelong process of continual interaction between the individual and his or her sociocultural environment. The material manifestations of identity, such as race, ethnicity, sex, and age, are used as lenses through which the individual can come to a greater degree of self-knowledge. The height of development then is the realization that the individual's segmented identities are not separate at all but are truly interrelated and interdependent. The whole becomes greater than the sum of its parts (Myers et al.).

When applied to the students' stories, another partial view emerges and the limited visions of the previous two tales again collapse and recompose. When viewed through the optimal theory applied to identity development (OTAID) model, none of the students have reached the fifth phase, Integration. In Integration, individuals attain a deeper self-knowledge that changes their assumptions of the world. A stronger inner security about self and relationships are accompanied by the awareness that all individuals can either oppress or be oppressed and communities and networks of support are no longer identified by material representations of identity, such as race, age, ethnicity, or sex. For instance, Poke talks about how his community has shrunken, not expanded, and he has become more aware of other's racism and less tolerant and willing to "teach" other people. Sage has formed different networks of support that represent the various facets of her material identity, which did not relate to each other on common intrinsic interests. K.B., who places black men at the "bottom of the social ladder," still feels that his racial identity makes it less likely that he or other black men could oppress other people.

These three students, however, do exhibit qualities of the OTAID's fourth phase called Internalization. In this phase, individuals have attached a sense of self-worth to those aspects of themselves that have been identified as significant or central to their identity. These central aspects of self are recognized as one among many and develop a tolerance of others (Myers et al.). Sage, Poke, and K.B. are all aware of the many ways in which race, class, and for Sage, gender all work to oppress certain

groups of people. Sage, particularly, is aware of the ways that race and gender can work together to oppress all classes of women.

These lenses reflect only a small sample of the possible ways in which these students and the issue of identity integration could be analyzed. These particular lenses were chosen because of the close resonance the language and focus of these lenses shared with the words and experiences of the students. Each of these lenses made a different and unique understanding of the students accessible, although no one lens could provide the most complete or definitive analysis. Any one interpretive framework can only hope to show a partial view of the subject and multiple readings and analyses only add to the complexity of the understandings elicited from them (Honan et al., 2000). Therefore, the application of multiple lenses to this data makes the analysis presented in this study more complete, authentic (tied closely to the data), and honest.

Implications

The findings in this study suggest implications for both student development theory and student affairs practice. For student development theory there are three implications: (1) there is a need to include the integrating of multiple identity facets as a component of psychosocial development, which is either distinctive from, or an extension of the concept of identity management. These students struggled not with whether to drink in front of their peers when they knew they would not do so in front of their parents, but rather where, when, and how to bring their differing racial, gender, and other perspectives to bear on discussions, relationships, and issues, which did not share those social and cultural perspectives as predominant foci. These are issues of weaving the self into and through context, developing a context-transcendent identity, in which the core beliefs and perspectives are the central, rather than peripheral, motivations for thought and behavior. (2) These findings also give more support to the central and pivotal role of intimate relationships and suggest that it may be time to extend this understanding to men's development as well as to women's. Both Poke and K.B., the two men in this study, spoke at length about the ways in which their relationships helped them develop more complex and complete understandings of themselves. These findings may suggest that it is time to dismantle the prevalence of

biological determinism that has suggested that women more so than men use relationships as a pathway toward individual development. (3) Spirituality needs to be reconnected to the understanding of individuals and their development. Specifically, spiritual development should be seen in tandem with, and perhaps even as a foundation for, mature psychosocial identity development in individuals. The research done by Fowler (1981) and these findings suggest that one of the ways people come to answer the questions, "Who am I?", "What will I do?", and "Who will I love?" is through their understanding and articulation of their relationship with a transcendent, organizing principle that some would call God. This association should be acknowledged in our research and theoretical models.

These findings also suggest two key implications for student affairs practice. First and closely related to the central findings of this study, the development of student groups and clubs which intersect different identity facets may encourage and support students as they seek ways to bring the multiple facets of themselves to bear on the issues in their lives. All of the students, and particularly Kashmir and Sage spoke about the need for "space" on campus. This space was seen both as physical space for groups to meet and connect, as well as psychological space between students and administrators and students and faculty. In some ways, groups that crossed multiple identities, such as the local Black sorority and the local Black fraternity, provided these needed spaces. However, there was a cry for more ways for the students to examine the full meanings of the connections within themselves. Also connected to this issue of space was the perceived lack of mentors among the administration and faculty, both Black and White, who were also dealing with the necessity of building bridges across the multiple terrains of identity they possessed. Many of the students commented how glad they were that they had been given the opportunity to reflect on these issues, out in the open, in conversation with someone else. Student organizations need faculty and administrators who can serve as effective advisors and mentors, who can encourage greater degrees of complexity and growth in the students.

Also, the development of an integrated social and cultural identity, which blends the influence of race, gender, class, and other central facets, does not occur in a vacuum, but it is influenced by the cognitive and other psychosocial development of the student as either a support or an hindrance. The

ability to think complexly about issues which are "ill-structured" (King & Kitchener, 1994) is fundamental to the development of an integrated identity. Moreover, development of autonomy and mature interpersonal relationships also bears direct relevance to the development of an integrated identity. Therefore, future studies that correlate these other aspects of development with identity integration would also be beneficial and contribute to our broader understanding of wholeness as a developmental journey.

Conclusion

This study has laid the groundwork for more extensive analysis and research. Future directions include the broadening of the study population beyond Black students into communities of other students of color, as well as majority students on campuses. To include an understanding of the ways in which colleges and universities function as mentoring communities (Parks, 2000), future research should also collect data from students on different types of campuses, both public and private, rural and urban, predominately White and historically Black institutions. Moreover, to examine the correlations between identity integration and other aspects of development, the assessment of students' cognitive development, spiritual development, and other aspects of psychosocial development would be insightful.

Nevertheless, this study has been a journey of discoveries. Among the many discoveries I have made, are that the issues that affect these students' abilities to integrate multiple facets of identity are complex and dynamic. Identity integration was influenced by the development of their faith and spirituality. It was influenced by their intimate friendships, romantic relationships, and the organizational networks, in which they moved. Most of all, however, identity integration in these students was promoted or hindered by their ability to see the possibility of a self that was not constrained by the facts of its material existence, but liberated by those same facts.

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Table 1. Excerpts of the poetic representation of the student portraits.

Students	Interview #1	Interview #2	Interview #3	Interview #4
Sage: "Out of Sync"	as far as black people/ there was little association/ I didn't see myself as one of them/ to a certain extent still don't/ we didn't chill with the kids on the block	I am straddling all sorts of margins/ Anything worth doing is worth doing well/ Things I do for myself/ Not as nit-picky/ Really big on not having people hurt	it's just easier for black guys/ getting dates/ going partying/ finding someone to dance with/ there's always a sense of powerlessness	the really good person award/ something I'm proud of/ a little disappointing/ people I work with/ people I do for/ don't recognize what I do
Kashmir: "On Baby Stitches"	I don't actually remember much/ before I was 10/ my parents divorced when I was young/ my father went to prison/ my grandmother helped raise us	black female/ since I've come to college/ my circle of friends is more that now/ I associate myself more with that/ twist ice cream/ chocolate and vanilla	I've dealt with/ black female relationships/ black male/ being a minority/ people not *knowing* I was a minority	my world has been falling apart/ and I haven't known what to depend on/ I look to my mom/ next I tend to run/ to a man in my life
K.B.: "Put on a Pedestal"	in second grade/ I got tested/ put into the gifted and talented program/ or whatever/ had to transfer schools	first thing would probably be my name/ after being here/ definitely black male/ probably my age group/ working class family I guess	when black males come here/ there's an exoticism that goes around/ an automatic commodification issue/ for me in particular/ I'm not really receptive to being commodified	only when I'm here that it feels like my world is falling apart/ either latch on to somebody/ definitely something picked up here/ just becoming super-reliant on myself/ biggest thing I picked up
Ophelia: "My World is Falling Apart"	we had a disc player/ like a record player/ me and my mom/ dancing to songs/ Prince or Michael Jackson	people try to make things fit together/ some things just kind of step on other things/ couldn't put everything into compartments/ everything ultimately with my identity has to blend/ you know intersect	sounds kind of strange/ really glad I'm not black and male/ pressure seems to be a lot different/ s a black female I grapple/ fight this whole invisibility	Dafina, my world is always falling apart/ my world has to fall apart/ otherwise it just doesn't work/ I write it all down/ I read it later/ it's brilliant
Poke: "Man in the Middle"*	growing up I was super duper fortunate/both my parents are attorneys/never had a real want in my life/growing up through like kindergarten with those kids/I didn't necessarily know them	I am very black male/ it's impossible to hide/ I am a young black male/ that's how I identify myself/ a collage	when you're a freshman guy/ they give you a lot of attention/ known all over the school/ in their minds/ I pose more of a threat	in the worst moments/ I do my crawl back to God/ I'm a religious person but/ I tend to only pray in serious times/ you always get a gut check

Table 2. Faith-identity typology assessment of Rosse College students.

Faith – Identity Pattern	Description of Pattern	Student	Illustrative Quote
Polytheistic Faith	Individual has interest in many non-transcendent centers of value and power May comprehend the whole of their lives but are incapable of going beyond creating a collection of isolated wholes Identities are separate and incompatible	Kashmir	My, those parts of my childhood and growing up and even now are very separate. Rosse and being here at college is very separate from my life back home and when I'm here my friends are black, when I'm home the friends that I have are white and there's no // I dated black guys at Rosse and white guys at home and it's very, very separate. They run parallel, each, each life is kind of going on at the same time and I kind of cross over on those little baby stitches that connect, but never mixed.
		Ophelia	He'll, he'll voice some issue about blackness to me, and I'll be like, you know what, it's not time for me to be black today, today I'm a feminist, and tomorrow I'll talk about black stuff, and the day after that I'm off … So, it's kind of this process of synthesizing is really important to me but it's just like I'm really seeing kind of the impossibility of it you know sometimes…
Henotheistic Faith	Individual has identified a single source of value, meaning, and dependency This center however is incapable of supporting the individual in the face of crisis and loss Finite causes or self-reliance take the place of something truly transcendent	K.B.	I was trying to stay // or get involved in everything and I did BSO and the [multicultural admissions group], and anything multi-cultural or whatever, I was doing here [the multicultural center] and a lot of other stuff, with just admissions and hostings and phoning. And I got so involved in everything and I wasn't eating right and I got sick, and I was fatigued and I was tired and I was depressed.
		Poke	Umm – conflict about who I am? Not really. It just seems that every year that goes by, I know I can still play the field regardless of where I am, or I can associate with any group of people I feel like I can. You can drop me off under the ocean and I'm sure I'll make a few friends somewhere.
Radical Monotheistic Faith	Individual displays an ultimate truts and loyalty in a center of value and power that is neither an extension of individual or organizational ego, nor can be inhabited by any finite cause	Sage	I think there is a reason why I am pulled the way I am, umm, I think I can tell how God is moving in my life through the relationships that I keep … the relationships that I'm in say something about what God's trying to do in me and/or what God's trying to do through me.

Note: Fowler (1981) and Parks (2000) were used to inform the descriptions of the faith-identity patterns used in this table.

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